

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SALT T 00281 120812Z

15/43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

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P 111615Z AUG 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2702

C O N F I D E N T I A L SALT TWO GENEVA 281

EXDIS/SALT

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y F O R C L A S S I F I C A T I O N

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM, OREP

SUBJECT: AUGUST 11 BRIEFING OF CODEL (SALT TWO - 722)

REFS: (A) SALT TWO-702

(B) STATE 180505

1. BRIEFED CODEL, PER REF A, FROM 10:30 A.M. UNTIL NOON. CODEL MEMBERS ATTENDING WERE CONGRESSMEN TAYLOR, ECKHARDT, ESCH, EACHLEMAN, REGULA, AND GOODING; ASD (LA) JOHN M. MAURY; DASD (SENATE AFFAIRS) DONALD SANDERS; COL. CHARLES HAMMOND AND NANCY WOOLRIDGE (MR. MAURY'S ASSISTANTS); LTC CHARLES WOLLERTON (DOD); DEPT REP PETER COLLINS; WHITE HOUSE REP VERNON LOEN; HOUSE IRC STAFFER MIKE VANDUSEN; SENATE ASC STAFFER NANCY BEARG, AND SALDEL ADVISOR HENKIN.

2. BEGAN BRIEFING CITING VARIOUS INDICATORS OF STRATEGIC CAPABILITY AND RESULTING DIFFICULTY OF CODIFYING STRATEGIC EQUIVALENCE. US BELIEVED LATTER IMPORTANT, EVEN IN ERA OF "OVERKILL", BECAUSE PERCEPTIONS OF STRATEGIC CAPABILITY COULD, CONFIDENTIAL

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IN A CRISIS, INFLUENCE LEADERSHIP OF BOTH SOVIETS AND US, AS

WELL AS US ALLIES. I THEN NOTED THAT CRISIS STABILITY WAS A BROAD US GOAL AT SALT. A MAJOR ELEMENT OF THIS APPROACH WAS US EMPHASIS ON SURVIVABILITY WHICH, IN VIEW OF PROBABLY FUTURE SUPERIOR SURVIVABILITY OF SLBMS, WAS MOTIVATION BEHIND A BAN ON NEW ICBM SILOS.

3. AFTER REVIEW OF EVENTS LEADING TO MAY 7 JDT, EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF CHANGE IN SOVIET POSITION ON FBS, I DISCUSSED SOME IMPORTANT CURRENT MAJOR ISSUES; VIZ, VERIFICATION, PARTICULARLY MIRV VERIFICATION, BACKFIRE, SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS, AND CRUISE MISSILES. I CONCLUDED WITH JUDGMENT THAT SALT REPRESENTS A PROCESS THAT WILL GO ON INDEFINITELY AND THAT THE PROBLEM OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL NOT BE SOLVED IN ONE STROKE. THE NEW AGREEMENT, ALBEIT SUBJECT TO CRITICISM, WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THAT PROCESS.

4. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS, I THEN MADE SEVERAL ADDITIONAL POINTS:

-- IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREEMENT, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO PROJECT THE FUTURE STRATEGIC BALANCE. THIS WOULD DEPEND TO A GREAT EXTENT ON THE MOOD OF THE US PEOPLE.

-- THE NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION ISSUE DID NOT BEAR DIRECTLY ON THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS, NOR DID ANY OTHER ISSUE CURRENTLY, ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN A DIRECT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MBFR AND SALT WHEN FBS WAS A SALT ISSUE. AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL, OF COURSE, MANY MATTERS BECOME INTERTWINED.

-- WITH RESPECT TO THE ADEQUACY OF NIM, THERE WAS NO QUESTION THAT LAUNCHERS AND BOMBERS COULD BE COUNTED AND THAT I WAS SATISFIED WE CAN WORK OUT AN ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENT FOR MIRVS. FURTHER, WITH ABMS STRONGLY LIMITED, THE MILITARY REQUIREMENT FOR MIRVS AS PEN-AIDS WAS REDUCED AND ONE COULD ARGUE THAT EXACT NUMBER OF MIRVS ON EITHER SIDE WAS LESS IMPORTANT. IN ANY CASE, FOR ADEQUATE MIRV VERIFICATION, WE NEEDED TO ACQUIRE INFORMATION IN THE TESTING PHASE AND IT WOULD BE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TO IMPROVE OUR CAPABILITIES IN THIS REGARD.

-- I NOTED THAT ONE WOULD HAVE TO ASK THE CIA FOR A DETAILED CONFIDENTIAL

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RESPONSE AS TO THE IMPORTANCE FOR VERIFICATION OF OUR TURKEY BASES. GENERALLY, HOWEVER, SUBSTITUTE VERIFICATION SYSTEMS WOULD BE LESS EFFECTIVE AND IMPORTANT INFORMATION COULD WELL BE LOST.

-- ANSWERING ANOTHER QUESTION ON NIM, I ASSERTED IMPORTANCE GENERALLY OF NOT REVEALING US CAPABILITIES BY PUBLISHING INTELLIGENCE PRODUCTS.

-- AS TO WHETHER CRUISE MISSILES COULD AFFECT THE FUTURE
STRATEGIC BALANCE, I REVIEWED AT SOME LENGTH THE ARGUMENTS
PRO AND CON FOR LIMITING THEM AT SALT. JOHNSON

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